1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal cousin as his most trusted friend.

When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters simply because they are males and not because they are specifically agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi; p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[219] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/141 cont./

848 842 We believe that the true justification for this suppression resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the [833] [602] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 574 [431] Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the newborn child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 852 848 182 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 602 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 578 602 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

/247 cont./

123 124 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 ### FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 842 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/248 cont./
121 842 [233] directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 262 [825] /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 754 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 825 789 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,

233 825 789 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 [531] Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/249 cont./

842
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262
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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
53 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87). A The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

A, /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 (114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. (775) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) (825) (128) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortality; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825

/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
896

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
847 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol: I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Saraketsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

(829) Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὕλης ἰατρικῆς λόγος,

[789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΑΟΥΣΑΡΧΟΥ: Περὶ ἄμπ. προσόψεως σπλάγχ.

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« ἄνοδος καὶ κατωγώγια »,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return;" (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

392 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Αρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ιστορία Ζώων, ΙΧ, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
171 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινὰ Μέρος, τ. VI, σ. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

121 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
821 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(1176) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

197 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
198 /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[197] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Rhalleand, ' 60, 80, 5' et 3, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : "Εκλογοποιικὸν Δικαίωμα" collayal, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 540, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
799 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
799 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [191] [342]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [191]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: [illegible] A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

233 825 789 [illegible] 527 [191]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

ΔΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. [illegible]

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 4[illegible]-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tsóligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [342] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

844 /271 cont./
514 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
784 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
[783] to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
783 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
789 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
[788] nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
[842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
789 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
[529] then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I. φμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all
[237] the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/280 cont./

787
825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their
(155) harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all
825 can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first
790 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to
789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas:
[illegible] p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess Maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825
842 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the
789 regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 842 789 /281 cont./ itself is also a magic act.

825 789 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked [783] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not [778] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ημερολόγιον Ἤπειρος, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us [173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

/296 cont./

121 789 712

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/297 cont./

121 289 212 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

"The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt, for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."